

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9746

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 1274

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT SHUM YO CSCE

SUBJ: DOLANC ON CSCE, ECONOMY; HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS

REF: (A) ZAGREB 166, (B) BELGRADE 715

1. SUMMARY: AT A SEMINAR FOR PARTY WORKERS IN SLOVENIA, LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC CALLED FOR A REAFFIRMATION OF SELF-MANAGEMENT IN RESPONSE TO WESTERN CAMPAIGN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND ACTIVITIES OF YUGOSLAV DISSIDENTS. IN ANOTHER ADDRESS TO THE SEMINAR HE ADVOCATED AUSTERITY IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES. WHILE DOLANC SAID DISSIDENTS SHOULD BE IGNORED, TWO SIGNERS OF RECENT PETITION ARE REPORTED TO HAVE LOST THEIR JOBS. OFFICIAL PARTY WEEKLY HAS ATTACKED MAGAZINE "DUGA" AND SERBIAN ORTHODOX BISHOP FOR A CRITICAL ARTICLE HE WROTE IN THE CHURCH NEWSPAPER. AN ANTHOLOGY OF SHORT STORIES HAS BEEN BANNED IN BOSNIA AND AN INDICTMENT AND CONVICTION ANNOUNCED FOR HOSTILE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. END SUMMARY.

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2. SPEAKING TO A TWO-DAY MEETING OF PARTY WORKERS FROM SLOVENIA, DOLANC SAID THAT REACTIONARY FORCES IN THE WEST, OVER-EMPHASIZING BASKET III OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD, HAVE LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN IN SUPPORT OF DISSIDENTS. A SUMMARY OF HIS REMARKS WAS CARRIED BY "TANJUG".

3. DOLANCE SAID CERTAIN YUGOSLAVS ARE TRYING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE CURRENT CLIMATE. HE MENTIONED THE BELGRADE PROFESSORS WHO WROTE IN "PRAXIS", SOME INDIVIDUALS IN SLOVENIA AND MILOVAN DJILAS. ACCORDING TO "TANJUG", DOLANC SAID DJILAS WAS GIVING "TWO OR THREE REACTIONARY INTERVIEWS DAILY", BUT THAT "NO ONE IN THE WORLD TAKES HIM SERIOUSLY ANY MORE."

4. DOLANC SAID THAT THE RESPONSE OF THE GOY IS SIMPLY TO "IGNORE ALL THESE INSIGNIFICANT VENTURES" AND TO REAFFIRM SELF-MANAGEMENT, PARTICULARLY BY STRENGTHENING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS. HE SAID THAT THE THIRD BASKET FREEDOMS ARE OF LESSER IMPORTANCE THAN THE PROBLEM OF FREEDOM FOR THE MASSES OF WORKING PEOPLE.

5. HE SOMEWHAT BALANCED HIS CRITICISM OF THE WEST BY SAYING THAT "DOGMATIC FORCES" (AN OBVIOUS REFERENCE TO THE SOVIET BLOC) HAVE TAKEN A HIGHLY POLEMICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD YUGOSLAVIA'S SELF-MANAGEMENT SYSTEM. (COMMENT: AFTER FULL AND CRITICAL INITIAL COVERAGE OF CZECH HANDLING OF CHARTER 77, YUGOSLAV MEDIA HAVE SHIFTED TO GENERALLY INCOMPLETE AND UNSYMPATHETIC COVERAGE OF DISSENT IN THE EAST AND INCREASED ATTENTION TO PROBLEMS IN WEST. IN SPITE OF GROWING CONGRUENCE BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND SOVIET STANDS ON HUMAN RIGHTS, PUBLIC POLEMIC BETWEEN THEM ON OTHER ISSUES CONTINUES.)

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7. IN SEPARATE SPEECH TO THE SAME SEMINAR DOLANC, AS HE HAD TWO WEEKS EARLIER (REFTEL A), CONSIDERED THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING YUGOSLAVIA. HIS SPEECH AMOUNTS TO A CALL FOR AUSTERITY. HE SAID THAT THE PERSONAL LIVING STANDARDS MUST BE LIMITED DUE TO THE RAPID GROWTH IN IMPORTS OF CONSUMER GOODS AND UNSATISFACTORY GROWTH IN EXPORTS. HE CALLED FOR SOCIAL SERVICES LIKE EDUCATION AND HEALTH TO RESTRICT THEIR FINANCIAL OUTLAYS TO THE PRESENT LEVEL. HE CALLED FOR A FIGHT AGAINST INFLATION, BUT SAID THAT IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO KEEP THIS YEAR'S RATE MUCH BELOW 15 PERCENT. HE ALSO URGED BETTER PRODUCTIVITY AND, PERHAPS AS A SOP TO MORE TRADITIONAL SOCIALIST THOUGHT, A TAX POLICY AIMED AGAINST THOSE WITH EXCESSIVE INCOMES.

8. WHILE HE TAKES A STRONG LINE AGAINST WESTERN SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, DOLANC INDICATES THAT GOY WILL "IGNORE" DISSIDENTS. WE UNDERSTAND, HOWEVER, FROM AN

AMERICAN STUDENT HERE THAT TWO OF THE SIGNERS OF THE PETITION ON FREEDOM OF TRAVEL SUBMITTED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT IN DECEMBER (REFTEL B) HAVE LOST THEIR JOBS AND HAVE APPLIED TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT TO HAVE THEIR NAMES REMOVED FROM THE PETITION. THEY REPORTEDLY WORKED FOR "AN INSTITUTE" AND MAY BE TANJA PETOVAR AND SONJA LIHT.

9. ANOTHER SIGN THAT DISSENT IS NOT BEING ENTIRELY IGNORED COMES FROM PRESS. OFFICIAL PARTY WEEKLY "KOMUNIST" CARRIED ATTACKS THIS WEEK ON THE MAGAZINE "DUGA" AND ON AN ARTICLE IN "PRAVOSLAVLJE", THE WEEKLY OF THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH. "KOMUNIST" SAYS THAT SOME ARTICLES FROM "DUGA" ARE IN CONFLICT WITH THE "BASIC VALUES AND ORIENTATION" OF YUGOSLAV SOCIETY. "DUGA" CARRIED HARSH ATTACK ON CZECH GOVT HANDLING OF CHARTER 77, COMPARING CONTEMPORARY CZECH-CONFIDENTIAL

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OSLOVAKIA TO ORWELL'S "1984", AND THIS ARTICLE, BY DRAGOLJUB GOLUBOVIC, IS ONE OF SEVERAL SINGLED OUT FOR CRITICISM. "KOMUNIST" SAYS THAT THIS ARTICLE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 1274

IS CONTARARY TO THE PRACTICE OF YUGOSLAV JOURNALISM AND
"IN DIRECT CONFLICT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOREIGN
POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF YUGOSLAVIA."
GOLUBOVIC TOLD PAO AND POL COUNS HE EXPECTS TO LOSE HIS JOB AND
ANOTHER YUGOSLAV TOLD US THAT PURGE OF "DUGA" KNOWN AS
A HAVEN FOR LIBERALS, IS LIKELY. MARIJE TODOROVIC OF
SERBIAN LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE WILL MET WITH "DUGA'S"
EDITORIAL BOARD MARCH 2.

10. "KOMMUNIST" CRITICIZES "PRAVOSLAVJE" FOR AN ARTICLE
BY VASILJE, THE BISHOP OF ZICA. PERHAPS EMBOLDENED BY
CSCE, BISHOP VASILJE HAD STRONGLY ATTACKED SEVERAL
LEADING MARXISTS FOR THEIR VIEW OF SERBIAN HISTORY AS
PROTRAYED IN AN ARTICLE IN "POLITIKA" OF JANUARY 31.
THIS ARTICLE DEPRECATED THE CHURCH AS "BOWING BEFORE
SWEET SMELLING MUMMIES" (THAT IS, BEFORE THE RELICS OF
SAINTS). ACCORDING TO THE BISHOP, "THIS ATHESTIC FIVE-
MAN GROUP UNOBJECTIVELY, TENDENTIOUSLY AND MALICIOUSLY"
UNDERTOOK TO EXPLAIN THE PAST. HE CHARGED THAT THEY
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ARE UNWORTHY DESCENDANTS OF THE GREAT SERBS OF HISTORY,
AND THAT "IT IS PRIMARILY THE WORKING CLASS WHICH IS
APPRECIATING AND RESPECTING THE 'SWEET SMELLING
MUMMIES' AND BOWING BEFORE THEM." "KOMUNIST" IN MORE
RESTRAINED TERMS CHARGE THAT THEBISHOP HAD MISUNDERSTOOD
THE ORIGINAL ARTICLE, AND HAD NOT READ THE WORK IN ITS
ENTIRETY. BUT IT CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT SUCH
"IDEOLOGICAL" INTERVENTIONS ARE EXCESSIVE CONTRARY
TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE OF RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

11. THE GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO PUNISH OUTSPOKEN
NATIONALISTS AND MEMBERS OF EMIGRE GROUPS. IN SARAJEVO
MIRKO KOVACEVIC (38) WAS SENTENCED TO EIGHT YEARS
IMPRISONMENT FOR SPREADING HTSTILE PROPAGANDA. AS A
TEACHER IN SARAJEVO HE ALLEGEDLY ATTACKED SELF-MANAGE-
MENT, THE UNITY OF THE NATIONALITIES, NON-ALIGNMENT, AND
THE HIGHEST STATE LEADERS WITH THE OBJECT OF CHANGING
THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BY FORCE. HE WAS REPORTEDLY ACTING
FROM A "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY, NATIONALIST AND
TECHNOCRATIC-BUREAUCRATIC" POSITION.

12. IN SKOPJE MERSIM CUPOSKI (34) HAS BEEN INDICATED FOR
TAKING PART IN HOSTILE ACTIVITIES AND SPREADING HOSTILE
ROPAGANDA. HE WORKED FOR TEN YEARS IN FRANCE WHERE
HE BECAME ASSOCIATED WITH AN UNNAMED EMIGRANT GROUP.
IN 1976 HE RETURNED TO YUGOSLAVIA AND DISTRIBUTED PRO-
PAGANDA FROM THIS GROUP. HE ALSO REPORTEDLY SANG HOSTILE

SONGS, GLORIFIED YUGOSLAV ENEMIES, INSULTED THE SECURITY ORGANS, CALLED FOR A CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SYSTEM BY FORCE AND UNDERMINED THE UNITY OF THE NATIONALITIES. HE WAS ARRESTED ON NOVEMBER 5, 1976 AND WILL BE TRIED SHORTLY.

13. "BORBA" HAS REPORTED THAT ON FEBRUARY 28 A PUBLIC PROSECUTOR IN BANJA LIKA ISSUED A TEMPORARY INJUNCTION PROHIBITING DISTRIBUTION OF THE BOOK "ANANTHOLOGY
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OF POST WAR SHORT STORIES IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA", EDITED BY NENAD RADONOVIC. THE BOOK WAS PUBLISHED AT THE END OF 1976, BUT THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR FOUND THAT IT HAD DISTURBED THE PUBLIC BECAUSE IT CONTAINS FALSE INFORMATION.

14. COMMENT: DOLANC IN SLOVENIA HAS BEEN SPEAKING OUT BLUNTLY ON A WIDE RANGE OF PROBLEMS. HE HAS THROWN HIS PRESTIGE AND THAT OF THE PARTY BEHIND THE DRIVE TO IMPROVE PRODUCTIVITY AND STABILIZE THE ECONOMY. IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HE HAS REPLIED FORCEFULLY TO WESTERN SUPPORT FOR DISSIDENTS. MALCOLM BROWNE ARTICLE IN "NEW YORK TIMES" REPORTS DIVISION WITHIN YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP OVER HANDLING OF DISSIDENTS, WITH MIKULIC, HERLJEVIC AND PETROVIC-SANE THE HARDLINERS AND DOLANC, BILIC, STAMBOLIC AND POPIT THE DOVES. EMBASSY CANNOT CONFIRM THIS LINE UP, BUT HAS HEARD FROM SEMI-OFFICIAL SOURCE THAT MIKULIC AND BILIC HAVE DISAGREED OVER HOW TO HANDLE IMPRISONED WRITER MIHAJLO MIHAJLIV. BILIC REPORTEDLY FAVORSHIS RELEASE FROM JAIL AND EXPULSION FROM YUGOSLAVIA WHILE MIKULIC FAVORS CONTINUED IMPRISONMENT. DOLANC'S STATEMENT THAT DISSIDENTS CAN BE IGNORED TENDS TO CONFIRM THAT HE IS AMONG RELATIVE DOVES BUT WE DOUBT HE OR ANYONE ELSE IN LEADERSHIP HAS PERMISSIVE ATTITUDE TO DISSENT AND CERTAINLY DOLANC NOT CALLING FOR RETURN TO PRE-1971 LIBERAL ERA.
YORK

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